1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau.

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant.

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The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

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The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position.

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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 834 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining [302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating [754] she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter [644] of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
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> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her companions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or [95] cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade 791 dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka*.

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *rambcrambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

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Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe,* and so forth.

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship.

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa.

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25).

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice.

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 226 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 335 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 793 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 644 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

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622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.